The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 15. No. 5 Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. May, 1957

History in Texas: A Filibuster AGAINST Jim Crow!

Ten segregation bills were up before the Texas legislature which ended this month. One gave school boards the power to assign pupils, another barred NAACP members from public employment, a third required advocates of integration to register with the Secretary of State, and fourth was a local option bill.

Only the pupil assignment and local option measures became law. But when the first of the measures—the school placement bill—came to the senate, it got a reception unique in Southern history.

A 36-hour filibuster was conducted against it! Six senators banded together to hold the floor, giving way only in the early morning hours of May 3.

The six were, in the words of the weekly newspaper **Texas Observer**:

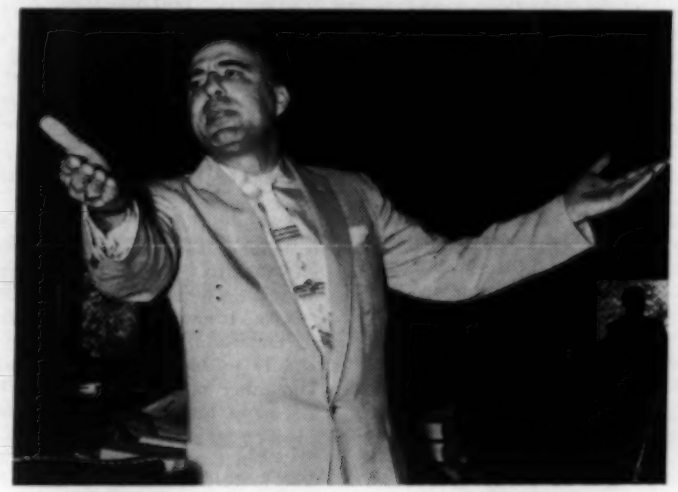
"Henry Gonzalez, the new State Orator, champion of his people and others oppressed, and a man of magic mind and voice.

"Chick Kazen, dedicated, self-effacing son of Lebanese immigrants who has risen to the Senate and there . . . defended the best in the American heritage.

"Charles Herring, who, during the long filibuster, stood with Kazen and Gonzalez on the death watch, the early morning hours.

"Bruce Reagan, angry and surprised that the state legislature would presume to tell Corpus Christi it was wrong to integrate.

SENATOR KAZEN
. . . Voice of Sanity



SENATOR HENRY GONZALEZ . . . Voice of the Voiceless

"Hubert Hudson, the aristocratic young man from Brownsville who again and again reminded the senate that his church, the Episcopal, stands for equal rights before the law.

Frank Owen, who also spelled the filibusters with long questions and leavened the deadened hours with a detective hunt for the co-author of the Duff segregation bill 'Et Al.'"

Three other senators joined them to vote against the bill when it finally came to a vote.

Senator Gonzalez of Bexar County (San Antonio) carried the main burden. "I seek to register the plaintive cry, the hurt feelings, the silent, the dumb protest of the inarticulate," he declared.

"What about the Negro? What about him? Who speaks for him? Are we not the duly elected representatives of all, including the Negro, who pays his taxes, who bears arms in defense of the nation, who does so extensively and honorably?" he asked.

"We have basic laws that have been engrained and stamped upon our minds since before the law of Moses. Love thy neighbor as thyself!

"For whom does the bell toll? You, the white man, think it tolls for the Negro. I say, the bell tolls for you! It is ringing for us all, for us all."

After telling of the times he had been discriminated against because of his ancestry, Gonzalez said, "The Irish have a saying, 'It's easy to sleep on another man's wounds.' Well, what's the difference? Mexican, Negro, what have you. The assault on the inward dignity of man, which our society protects, has been made. . ."

Ronnie Dugger, editor of the **Observer**, describes Gonzalez' political career and personality as follows:

"He remembers that the mother of his best friend went blind from hand-sewing baby clothes for five cents apiece. He remembers he and his friends have been thrown out of swimming pools and parks and told they would have to stand up to drink their beer in cafes. . .

"When time came for him to go to Junior high his accent was so thick they made fun of him. He had read that Demosthenes of Athens developed his oratory by shouting at the sea with pebbles in his mouth, so he, Henry Gonzalez, did that. Long evenings he read Carlyle aloud with rocks in his mouth. . .

"He ran for city council and cast many a lonely vote against his eight colleagues. ('The vote that carries the weight of moral conviction behind it, it has been my observation, is a vote that eventually triumphs.') Now he is a senator. He shuns lobbyists and parties. He

(Continued on Page 4)

Two Southerners Report on Ghana Independence

By BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

Ghana is the new African nation, formerly a British colony on the West coast of Africa, about as large in size and population as Mississippi and Louisiana combined.

A thousand years ago a powerful African empire is said to have thrived there. Then because of African wars, slavery and European exploitation, it went down. Europeans could not live as successfully in West Africa as they did in the Southern part of the U.S., where slavery thrived. Consequently, they had to train Africans to do most of the skilled and clerical work, and had to educate them far beyond what we did for the American slaves. Churches, Roman Catholic and Protestant, promoted education; the government aided with grants of funds; some of the best Africans found their way to American and English colleges.

One of these, the young son of a goldsmith received the A.B. and S.T. B. degrees from Lincoln University and the A.M. from the University of Pennsylvania, where he also completed residence for his Ph.D. He found out the hard way how we Americans treat black people.

Then he went to England and studied law, economics and philosophy. After two years, this young man—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—returned in 1947 to his native land and became secretary of the Gold Coast Convention. He soon founded the Convention Peoples Party. He saw no sense in brutal warfare; his was the method of negotiation for which hard work, patience and superior knowledge of government superbly fitted him. His party called upon the mother country to put into practice some of the fine things it had been preaching to Africans for generations.

Ghana achieved national freedom without war, and retained the friendship of its former masters. Nkrumah did by negotiation what George Washington in America took years of war to accomplish. He held goodwill from the start; it took us over 100 years to achieve it.

I attended the celebration marking the birth of the new nation Ghana, March 6-8, and the things that impressed me most were the contrasts with my native land.

I saw black people with no expression of fear on their countenance.

I saw black and white associating in perfect equality, in hotels, public conveyances, etc., and no remarks made.

I saw a white minority given a fair deal, and not persecuted because of their color. . . .

I heard the Duchess of Kent, the aunt of Queen Elizabeth of England, open Ghana's independent parliament and praise its premier. She danced with the prime minister, which I presume was protocol, but if this had occurred in my America I am pained to think of the consequences. Ghana took it as a matter of course.

I saw (to me) a strange absence of discussion of the "race problem." Everybody took for granted that color of skin had nothing to do with morals, character and ability. . . .

Ghana is rich. Accra, the capital city, is building more houses than the average city its size. Among Ghana's great undertakings is the Volta Dam to cost $500,000,000. It now exports most of the cocoa of the world, and the farms are owned chiefly by blacks. Bauxite, manganese and other minerals abound. The U.S., Germany, England, Russia, China are all bidding for some of this wealth.

Ghana is an inspiration to all Africa and a part of our great hope for "one world." May she succeed along all lines.

BISHOP WRIGHT, a member of the SCEF board, is president of the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

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By JOHN WESLEY DOBBS

Nkrumah of Ghana knew that England had granted independence and home rule to India, Burma, Ceylon, and Pakistan. He also wanted his country to join the ranks of the independent African States of Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia. He boldly stated, from the outset, that independence for the Gold Coast was his aim. From that point of view, and from that position, he never retreated nor withdrew.

Those ideals he taught and preached to his native African brothers as he travelled by day and night in a second-hand "struggle buggy." Over dirt roads, and many times on foot, he continued to take the message of Freedom to the natives. Oftimes, fifty to sixty thousand black people would come out of the hills to hear him talk. At first sight of him, you could hear them shout—"FREEDOM!" "FREEDOM!"

Nkrumah also told his people that long ago, before the slave trade and imperialistic rivalries began in Africa, the civilization of the Ghana Empire was in existance; that in the ancient city of Timbuctu, Africans were well versed in the arts and sciences; that the writings of their scholars were translated into Greek and Hebrew languages; that, at the same time, they were exchanging teachers with the University of Cordova in Spain. Also, that one of their native sons, Anthony William Amoo, was serving as professor of Philosophy at the celebrated University of Berlin in Germany.

Nkrumah knew that Ghana was the African name of his country long before the coming of the white man. It was the desire of his heart that the official name of his country would someday be changed from the Gold Coast back to Ghana, the African name of his ancestors. He wanted the young African men and women to cherish something noble about their past, and strive thru coming years to ennoble and dignify that self-respect.

Also, immediately, Nkrumah began to build the University of Ghana twelve miles from Accra. Today, in less than five years, you will behold hundreds of new buildings, of brick and stone, covering several hills of the university site. Many beautiful brick cottages for teachers and professors surround the university. They are all new and completely furnished with modern equipment.

My friends, on March 6th, Nkrumah did it in a way that was heard in every civilized land. Newspapers, periodicals, radios and televisions sent the news around the world. Along with thousands of other visitors, from all over the world, I was mighty happy to have been in Accra on that eventful day.

JOHN WESLEY DOBBS, a member of the SCEF board, is Grand Master, Prince Hall Masons of Georgia.

Churches Speak Out Against State Laws

Arkansas segregation bills aping those in Mississippi brought forth a strong unified protest from churchmen. More than a thousand persons attended an open hearing at which a Catholic priest, a rabbi, and representatives from all major Protestant faiths spoke. However, the measures were adopted.

In Tennessee, the Presbytery of Union of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. issued a statement condemning "all efforts to postpone or obstruct . . . the prompt, orderly, and complete integration of the public schools."

The interracial assembly also specifically rejected the "groundless myth" of gradualism.

The Tennessee Council of Churches has urged state officials to work together to bring the public school systems "into harmony with the letter and the spirit" of the Supreme Court desegregation decrees.

Arizona Suggest How To Bolster Aid Civil Rights Action

We received a letter the other day from Mr. P. G. Hartung, Jr., of Tucson, Arizona, which described an interesting project he had undertaken. We quote:

"Since I feel that you are interested in the stand of prominent people on issues I am enclosing three letters which came in answer to ones I had written urging repeal or modification of Senate Rule 22 to end or weaken the filibuster.

"I also stressed the obligation of the federal government in the matter of Negroes being deprived of their right to vote in federal elections, and cited the case of the Negro in Mississippi who was killed for urging others to register and how not one witness could be found although hundreds were present at the time.

"I also pointed out the absurdity of the U.S. assuming responsibility for events seven or eight thousand miles away in the Mideast but disclaiming responsibility for events in the South. . . .

"I feel that an issue must be made until a Congress can be obtained which will change the rules to permit a majority to end debate after a reasonable length of time. I feel that all persons interested in civil rights should press the issue of the filibuster all that is possible. . . ."

He wrote Senators Carl Hayden and Barry Goldwater of his state and Vice-President Nixon.

Hayden replied, in part: "Permit me to say that the United States Senate is the only remaining legislative body in the world where freedom of debate has not been drastically curtailed, and for a long time I have been convinced that it would be a grave mistake for less than a two-thirds majority to have the right to bring discussion to an end."

Goldwater said: "I voted against the amendment to Senate Rule 22 because I feel that history has proven that more good than harm is accomplished by unlimited debate. . . .

"My vote on this rule change has nothing to do with my lifelong feeling about segregation or discrimination of any sort. . . Discrimination and its attendant evil, segregation, have no place in our American life but actions of men, not the words of men, will bring an end to these practices."

Nixon expressed agreement with Mr. Hartung's views and cited the civil rights legislation pending before Congress. He added:

"It is my firm belief, nevertheless, that government alone is not adequate to solve the problems involved in the racial issue. A law is only as good as the will of the people to obey it, and it is in this connection that our churches, schools and community organizations can play such a vital part."

One might quibble about the soundness of some of these responses, but the fact remains that these members of Congress **did** respond to a thoughtful citizen's letter.

We could not help thinking that the two Senators from Arizona, and others from the West and North, might take a sharper view toward the filibuster and civil rights if more citizens wrote them.

It occurred to us that the **Southern Patriot** might be of some assistance to Northern readers who wish to "press the issue of the filibuster all that is possible."

To the best of its ability, the Patriot strives to present a detailed picture of major events in the South. Often these events are not adequately reported outside the region. However significant they may be in their implications toward federal policy, even the best-intentioned Congressman might not be aware of them.

If then, letters to Congressmen urging civil rights action would include mention of specific occurrences, there might be a two-fold effectiveness: 1) The Congressman might learn something; 2) He might be impressed that his constituent was sufficiently interested in the South to keep closely informed about it.

At any rate, if any of our readers should try the idea, we would be grateful to learn the results.

Why We Like the Name 'Southern Patriot'

A contribution of $5 arrived in the mail with the accompanying note: "I do not like the name Southern Patriot so omit magazine, please!"

It was not the first time that the title of this publication has been deplored, by even the best of well-wishers.

Some quote Dr. Johnson's famous: "Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels."

Others point out that "patriotism" has become a catchword adopted by ultra-conservative groups like the American Constitution Party, the DAR, etc.

But no matter how many definitions there are of "patriot," there is still room, we think, for the name to be applied to those of the South who believe in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the American tradition of equal opportunity for all.

Perhaps a new name could be found for the Patriot. And we invite readers who feel strongly about a change to submit suggestions. However, let us say that we'll be hard to convince.

Other Letters from Patriot Readers

To the Editor:

You are fighting a heart-breaking battle that calls for more courage and patience than most can endure.

Thank God that step by step and inch by inch you are gaining ground. I wish your gains could move faster for your sakes as well as the ones you are fighting for. But don't give up, for right is on your side and ultimately right will win out.

MRS. FRANKLIN MCQUILKEN
Shepherdstown, W. Va.

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Our thanks go to the scores of friends who responded to the personal appeal from SCEF president, Aubrey W. Williams, for financial aid to the Inter-Civic Council of Tallahassee. (The total received was $2,063.00).

The following letter was especially appreciated.

To the Editor:

This letter (from Mr. Wililams) is so concise, logical and fundamentally right that I am impelled to do my best to help.

NAME WITHHELD.

To the Editor:

We are so **thankful** for the manner in which the Montgomery, Alabama, Negro minister and people have carried on their protest! We pray constantly for their attitude to continue: loving and forgiving no matter how much Satan tries to change them. If only the people of Hungary had followed their lead. Some did. Most weakened and depended on killing to accomplish their purpose instead of obedience to Jesus, our God & Saviour, King of Love.

DOROTHY DOANE LESLIE,
Wellesley Hills, Mass.

* * *

To the Editor:

One seldom sees a more effective appeal ("This we believe") than yours. I've known that there must be many in the South believing as you do and hope the enclosed will help. It carries my best wishes.

I'm sharing your appeal with friends from the South who will be interested.

CLARA STURGES JOHNSON
Claremont, Calif.